/103 cont./

291 feminine dress by the Tukano Indians. Nevertheless, it is still
177 possible to encounter Tukano Indians, male and female, who
797 reject occidental clothing, and this occurs primarily among persons of advanced age and in general among natives who reside quite far from any religious Mission.

527 For special feasts, such as the Dabukurí, ornaments of
302 brightly colored feathers are used by the men. For these feasts
[301] both men and women paint the face, the body, and the extremi-
[824] ties with carayurú, which is a pigment obtained by the fermentation of the leaves of Bignonia chica or by boiling the water in which these leaves have been soaked.

527 In the decoration of the skin by means of pigments for the
302 feast of Dabukurí, it is always the woman who applies the paint
571 to the man, besides dressing him with his garb of feathers. If the man is married, it is his only wife or the principal wife, in case he has several, who assists him. In the case of a single man, any woman of the community does this work, and the single man contracts with this woman the same obligations and the same rights that a compadre has toward his comadre in the Colombian
302 Creole culture. Besides painting the skin for occasions as
[751] esteemed as the feast of the Dabukurí, the daily painting of the
[413] face is common. In this case, the function of the pigment is simply aesthetic or for protection from the sun. In the decoration of the body and the extremities, /104/ cylindrical wooden pintaderas, which imprint geometric decorations, are used.

301 Another decoration used by Tukano women and girls is the
177 necklace of glass beads acquired from the rubber workers by means of barter, and there are also necklaces of mammal teeth obtained as a by-product of hunting and silver necklaces made from the coins that they get from the Creoles settled in the region.

105 The subject of social and political organization, as well as the life cycle, will be dealt with extensively at another time. For the moment it suffices to say quickly that the Tukano Indians have patrilineal extended families, they have patrilocal residence, they practice polyandry, marriage is carried out by means of

/21 cont./

3. Ethnographic Information from the Eighteenth Century

128 In the three eighteenth-century sources known, and cited by us, we find very little ethnographic information about the tribes of the basin of the Uaupés that we have studied. Without much inconvenience, then, they can be copied, and we do it for the greater convenience of the readers of these studies.

103 a. In the "Roteiro" we read: -- No. 184. "The true name of the Uaupé River is Ucayari, which, in the idiom of the Manáos and Barez Indians, means -- River of white water; but, since the heathen who inhabits the main trunk of the Ucayari is of the Uaupé nation, the other Indians attributed to him the same name, which the Whites translate into Goaupé (it is the same one that Condamine calls Yaquiri (in the Mapa) and Quiquiari (in the Diario)" /the final parenthesis is missing/.

133 /22/ 185. "Five days of travel along the southern bank the Tiquié disembogues. At a distance of three more days of travel it has a great cataract called Ipanoré ... Three more [135] days the mouth of the river Capuri on the southern bank. In the Tiquié River in the year of 1749 were found stones that, after being examined and melted, appeared to be of silver. By this river and by the Capuri one can go to the Apuapari (Apapóris), which empties on the northern bank of the Japurá, as was said: passing from the sources of that one to the Yeyá or Uayá River, which empties into the eastern branch of the Apuapari."

*101 186. "On the river Ucayari and on those that are collateral to it live Indians of the nations Uaupé, Cocuana, Quereruri, Uanana, Cubeuana, Burenarí, Mamangá, Panenuá and others. 304 The heathen of the Uaupé nation has a small orifice between 171 the cartilage and the lower extremity of the ears; and another on the lower lip between the beard and the upper extremity of • 301 the same lip. On the chest he wears a solid white stone, well [554] polished, cylindrical in shape and an inch in diameter, fixed at the neck with string and thread introduced through a small

/22 cont./

301 554 hole that is made artificially across the middle from one extremity to the other: the principals wear them about half a span long; the nobles, a little less, and the common people much shorter."

301 135 171 187. "Some Indians of the Tariarana nation, inhabitants of the Capuri River, were seen at another time with little plates of gold /Port. folhetas de ouro/ in the ears, which, in exchange for feathers, they bought from Indians of other nations, whom they did not know. Now it is known that the Indians of the Panenuá nation, who inhabited the upper part of the Ucayari, wear the same little plates and that from them they are passed on to the Tarianos. There is doubt, however, as to where the above-mentioned fragments of gold come from" (3).

3. Manoel da Gama Lobo D'Almada, who, by order of João Pereira Caldas, Governador of the Rio Negro, explored the passages from the Uaupés to the Japurá, in his report of September 13, 1785, manifests his opinion to the same Governador (Arthur Cesar Ferreira Reis -- Lobo D'Almada, p. 82) as follows: "In relation to the little Plates of gold which are said to have been worn by certain Indians of the Uaupés River as earrings; this is one thing about which I could not discover the slightest bit of information, although I have questioned many and different Nations, inhabitants of the same River, with whom I have talked. It could well be that those alleged little Plates of Gold were nothing but a chimeric illusion that originated from having seen in the ears of the said Indians the Wings of certain large, copper-colored Beetles, whose wings, after being dried, resemble some metallic kind because of their thickness and shine. /This footnote is continued on the next page of the original source./

135 "Finally I believe that this Notice of such little Plates of Gold of the Uaupés River is to that degree Fabulous, as certainly is the one that affirms, in the Synopsis of

/23 cont./

133 the north there runs a channel of communication with the river Guabiari, which descends from the environs of Santa
171 Fé de Bogotá. The Daçanas, Tarianas and Uaupés Indians
301 who might communicate with the Indians of the same Guabiari have been seen with earrings of very fine gold, which is supposedly extracted from the mines of New Granada."

*101 381. "The Uaupés is inhabited by many nations, the
301 principal ones of which are Cocuana, Macu, Macucoena,
554 Uananá, Tariana, Deçaca (sic), Urinaná, Timanará, Boanari, Mamengá, Panenuá; the most famous one, however, is the Uaupés because of the difference of various degrees of nobility that they admit among them; what serves as the distinction, like a military order, is a very smooth, white stone, cylindrical in shape and pierced in order to pass through it a cord, with which they wear it at the neck. Those of the principals reach up to half a span in length. Those of the nobles are smaller, and those of
[304] the common people much smaller. The Uaupés wear the ears and lips pierced."

127 c. Numerous and interesting pieces of information are found in the nineteenth century, especially in the works of Wallace and Koch Grünberg. We shall cite them whenever an opportunity presents itself to us, as confirmation of what is found at present, or to verify a modification of indigenous customs, or, finally, to rectify those authors' observations that seem incorrect to us.

/77 cont./

142 Suryãna, and Íde-masã are lighter (16).
144

16. The hair, too, corresponding to the pigment, becomes less dark. In a Suryãna adolescent from Acuaricuara, it was as reddish as the beard of one of the Hollandish Missionaries who was evangelizing them.

184 The Íde-masã, Bará, and Kubêwãna exhibit the handsomest types.
171
*192 b. By the cultural elements (work and industry).

[322] The Tukano are the manufacturers of the banquinhos /small
[531] benches, footstools/, which they decorate with their characteristic paintings. And many times the lines of the bench appear on their objects as a decorative element, for example, the curve on the cigar case and on the handle of the oar.

[285] The Desana are specialists in making panniers and mats;
[531] also with colorful ornamentation in original motifs.

[501] The Tuyuka were the first manufacturers of canoes, selling
[439] them later to those of other tribes, who today are beginning to imitate them, without, however, surpassing them.

[278] The Makú are the region's exclusive manufacturers of the
[411] handsome panniers of cipo, "aturá" type, of curare (poison for
[567] the arrows), and of the original weapon, which is the sarabatana /blowgun/, products that they later deliver to those of other tribes, when they serve them as slaves.

[501] The Baniva or Arwake of the Içana manufacture, with exclusiveness, the grater and are likewise excellent canoeists.

[226] /78/ While the cacurí, as a fishing process, is general to all the tribes, the Pirá-tapuya have characteristic baskets for fishing, and sieves with their designs.

[301] As for the ornaments for the dances, originally only the Tukano group used the acangatara and the ornamental stone at the neck (VII-3, d). The yay-gõ (stick of the onça, VII-3, c (3)) and the cipo shield (VI-2, e), which they use at the feasts, at the time of drinking the kaxpí (VI-4, i (3)), come from the Desãna (cf. Koch G., Zwei Iahre, 218).

/89/

c) BÁ:RE-MASÃ OR TẽMYÚ-TAPUYA

*101 1) People-Name-Language -- The idiom of the Bá:re-masã, or "food people," likewise belongs to the family of Tukano languages. As can be verified by the Vocabulary that we collected (cf. "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/"), it is quite close to the language of the Roéra. We met a representative of the Bá:re-masã Tribe living among the Íde-masã of the Comé--ía (maloca Bõhõ-rya-hidó, mouth of the stream of the spider). He was (in August of 1956) a type of about 38 to 40 years old, short in stature, fat, skin of a light bronze, nose small and high at the point, rounded face, not very prominent zygoma, and almost cymotrichous black hair. He had pierced ears, with a plug approximately one centimeter in diameter stuck through them, the largest orifice in the lobes that we have found among the various tribes of the Uaupés.

[144] [301] [304] [171] [582]

The law of the exogamy is also in force within the tribe, and marriages seem to be concluded with the Hanẽra, Bará, and Íde-masã.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- The tribe of the Bá:re-masã is very reduced in members. We know of the existence of a maloca on the stream Umũ-ía (stream of the japú /bird/), tributary of the left bank of the stream Timí-ia (stream of the otter), which, in turn, flows in on the left bank of the Pirá-paraná, a little above the mouth of the Comé-ia.

[115] 3) Divisions -- The above informant, called Titõyã (also known by the name of Domingos), indicated to us as being divisions of his tribe: 1st. -- Íde-masã, 2nd. -- Ogóro-sõroa. It is probable that the first subdivision, Íde-masã, is the principal tribe of the Comé-ia (cf. IV -- 2, h) considered related to the Bá:re-masã, and not a simple division of the latter. The Ogóro-sõroa are the Hógolo-tsõloa or Tsõroa mentioned by Koch-Grünberg (Z. I. 370) on the Yauacacá-Igarapé, almost identical to the Edúrya in idiom.

/92 cont./ *101

1. Saĩrõa-masĩ (water people? gossiping people?)
2. Yebá-masĩ
3. Roeá-masĩ (taraíra /a fish/ people)

/In the original text, the last two lines of p. 91 are repeated here, which is apparently a misprint and is omitted in the translation./

g) HANERA OR PANENÕÁ.

[142] 1) People-Name-Language. -- A type taller and slighter than the Tukano. A redder complexion, long face, delicate chin, high nose, wide forehead.

Their idiom, which must be affiliated with the Tukano linguistic family (cf. Vocabulary, in "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/"), presents this peculiarity: an initial aspirate (h, as we represent it in this work) appears in words in which the Tukano pronounces a p; for example: father, hakõ (Tukano pax-kõ), mother, hakó (Tukano, pax-kó), etc. This characteristic of their idiom explains to us the correspondence of their name in their own language, Hanẽra, and in the Tukano, Panenõá, or Parẽroá.

/93/ We know that they are connected by marriage with the Barâ and Tuyuka.

[161] 2) Habitat and inhabitants. We have only seen a few individuals in passing by the maloca called Mosã-bhoá (mountain of the urucú) of the Barâ, on the igarapé Uaracú-pirẽra, and in their maloca close to the mouth of the Timí-ya. They were unable to give us any information about the approximate number of individuals in their tribe. It seems that they do not exceed four hundred. At present they reside only in Colombian territory, on various igarapés on the left bank of the Pirá-paraná.

[301] [439] The informants of the eighteenth century testify that it was from the Panenõá that the Taryana obtained by barter their ornaments of gold and silver (cf. II -- 3) and momõrõ Khwirí (VII -- 3, d).

/94 cont./

*101 The Ide-masĩ are in general less corpulent than the Tukano. Although of lighter complexion, somewhat pale, elongated face, high, slightly aquiline nose, not very prominent zygoma, almond-shaped eyes almost always light brown. The hair in general is dark or even black, fine, not lissotrichous; instead, many times even wavy.

[582] Tribal exogamy is in force among them. And we know that they are connected by marriage with the Tuyuka, Bará, Emõa, Yebá, Bá:re, Roéra. Not only the women, but also the [301] [304] men wear pierced ears with a small plug two to three millimeters in diameter, which keeps the orifice open.

A peculiarity of this tribe is the dances with masks. We had the opportunity to see the masks representing Waxtĩ and the [532] monkey. The one of Waxtĩ was a true white mask, made of bark, like a round face, with a long slit representing the mouth, a long and pointed nose, and, on the sides of the base of the nose, two slits, somewhat slanted, by way of eyes. The one that represented the monkey was a plain shirt of tururi, with a pointed part, like a hood, covering the head. In this hood there were two holes corresponding to the eyes and two points upwards representing ears.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. They are found scattered over a very wide area: all the stream Comé-ia (stream of the iron or of the ax, in the Ide idiom Koméryaka, tributary of the left bank of the Pirá-paraná), the Miritĩ-paraná, Apaporis, and the Kamorĩ (which, according to indications by the same tuxáua, [161] must be a tributary of the river Solimões). They seem to be quite numerous, that is, several hundreds. The number of divisions that the tribe presents seems to confirm this information.

[115] c) /sic/ Divisions. -- Furnished by the Indian Hinõ (that is, snake), also known as Fernando, about 50 years old (in August of 1956), tuxáua of the maloca Buhõ-rya-hido (mouth of the igarapé of the spider), on the left bank of the Komé-ya, about 10 hours by canoe from the mouth.

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*101 b) The agreement with the previous lists is not great (only in half a dozen names). Having in mind that the ending kõ indicates the masculine singular, and wa, the ending for the plural, we have discovered a larger number of agreements. For example:

The 5th subdivision of this list, Bahúkõwa, with Bahúkekõ mentioned by Heloisa;

The 6th division, Wararíwa, with the 3rd one of Heloisa, Wáriríkõ (pepper);

The 9th, Horóbora, clay, with the 8th, Húrukõ (?);

The 16th, Órobawa, with the 1st, Órobakõ (sororoca)

q) ROÉRA-MASÃ OR TARAYRA-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- Roéra-masã, as they say in their own idiom, corresponds to the Tukano word Doeá-maxsã or Taraíra-tapuya of the Nheengatú, since roé (in Tukano doé) is the name of the taraíra fish (Erithrynus Taraira, Lin.).

[115] Their idiom also belongs to the Tukano linguistic group, as is seen in the Vocabulary (cf. "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia") that was given to us in August of 1956 by a young man named Yamí, also known under the name of Pedro, about 22 years old

[142] and residing in the Ídemasã maloca of the Komé-ya. They are in general of medium stature, plump of figure, roundish face, light bronze complexion, light eyes inclined toward blue, mustache hairs, nose high and a little aquiline, and lissotrichous

• [301] [304] hair. All of them, men and women, wear the ears pierced and a small plug of about two millimeters in diameter stuck through them.

[582] Tribal exogamy is also in force among the Roéra, and we know of marriages with the Íde-masã.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- They have a maloca near the mouth of the stream Gó-ya, right tributary of the Komé-ya. It seems that they are not very numerous, except if we consider them in conjunction with the Emõã and Yebá, which were designated to us as one and the same tribe (cf. IV -- 2, t). It is to be noted that it is not rare that those of one tribe are presented

/168/

25) Artistic ability and taste.

342 We have mentioned the Indian's skill in the execution of his traditional works. Furthermore, he has artistic taste, as we shall see later (VII - 3). His maloca is a fine work of engineering and art. Harmonious and imposing in its proportions, and with a perfect joining of the beams, it is solidly planted on the ground, defying the storms, with posts of hard wood, all quite regular and admirably aligned.

*192 286 • 301 The yuxta-seri, or bands woven of tucum (in Nheengatú, tapacúras), which the women wear below the knee in order to thicken the legs or as ornaments during dances, are perfect works.

531 The paintings on the stools and the designs with straw of different colors in the baskets and sieves are perfect and pleasant.

*192 291 The yaxkẽ-waxsóro or cache-sexe (small apron of beads strung on threads of tucum), which the women wear in front when they dance, shows patience, skill, and good taste.

177 291 The new generation, both of the female and male sex, which has passed through the Mission schools, has learned how to make their clothes; and /169/ they complete them with sufficient taste and trying to follow the fashion that they saw among the civilized of the Rio Negro. Even the boys like to sew and embroider (!).

532 They show a bent for drawing; and they not only draw on the ground, but represent in notebooks what they have seen: animal, objects, school buildings, etc. In the interests of truth, it must be pointed out that, because of their inconstancy, none of them up to now has gone on to perfect himself in drawing.

822 Among the colors, they prefer red and blue, combining this last color with white. And they love very bright colors.

/193 cont./

*192 because of their purpose, which is to kill the fish (wehẽ means
227 to kill), and in the Lingua Geral, puçá. It is a mesh of knots
284 made out of fibers of caroatá (Bromélia pinguis, Lin.), caroá (Neoglazióvia variegáta Ar. Com.), or even tucum. The meshes are narrower or wider, according to the purpose.

[462] They are manufactured by the man. The pregnant woman
[784] cannot touch them, because the fishing would be fruitless. When they prepare their puçá, the men will remain silent, in order to have luck with the fishing.

They perform the work in two ways: either with successive knots, as the casting nets are prepared among the civilized; or using splinters of arumá /Ischnosiphon ovatus, Kcke./, tying them at intervals with caroatá knots, as if one were preparing /194/ a basket. Once this is ready, they take off the splinters and the caroatá knots present the desired net.

They manufacture them in two sizes: a larger one (jereré in Nheengatú), with the shape of a very wide funnel; it measures 1.5 meters or more in length and during the fishing is kept open by means of two poles tied at the ends, in such a way that, with the help of a third pole as a wedge, it almost forms a circle.

They also make smaller and funnel-shaped nets, ganapão /workman, porter/ type, fitted to a hoop equipped with a handle, such as are used to catch butterflies. It is with these that they catch the fish stupefied by the timbo.

It seems that all the men know how to weave their fishing nets, with the exception of the young men of the last generation.

4) Other woven products.

286 With the fibers of tucum or miritĩ they make those elegant
• 301 bands, yuxtá-seri, that they put on the legs (conf. VII -- 3, d
*[192] (1)).

With these same fibers or with twisted embira they prepare some of the dance ornaments that must support the beautiful plumage.

They use monkey hide in order to make braids, which they wear as dance ornaments.

/310/

d) Plumage and adornment.

301 The native ornaments are many; the most striking ones are for the men (59),

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> 59. This assemblage of ornaments (earrings, bracelets, necklaces, combs), the long hair in a braid, carefully combed, the depilation of the beard and the mustache, gave the Indian, according to Wallace's testimony, an appearance so effeminate, especially in the dance, when they even protected the chest with the shield of cipo and the lower part of the body with the long waxsó-ro of hanging tururí, that the English scientist thought he was in front of a woman. Wallace's opinion is that the legend of the Amazons or women warriors arose from this mistake (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 630).

but their use on the latter is exclusively for the dances (60),

[184]

> 60. In the Roéra and Ihwãna tribes, even outside of the dances, we have seen the men, especially the young ones, with paintings on the face, bracelets on the arms, and earrings made up of a plug of colored or white feathers.

at least nowadays among the tribes of the Uaupés.

The ancient travelers speak (61)

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> 61. Pe. Cristovão de Acuña, referring to the journey of Pedro Teixeira in 1639, concerning the nation of the Curizaris, which started 28 leagues below the mouth of the river Juruá,

4: Silva--454 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/310 cont./

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/footnote 61 cont./ says: "The Portuguese called the first aldeia of this nation, coming down the river, "aldeia de ouro" /aldeia of gold/, because in it they found and bought some, which, in small sheets, the Indians wear hanging from their noses and ears and which was examined in Quito and found to be of 21 carats" ("Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas," trans. of C. Melo Leitão, p. 236). According to these first explorers, such plates were obtained by beating "this gold, all in bits and grains of good size," which they extracted from a mountain range watered by the river Iquiarí.

[316]
[325]

of gold and silver ornaments. There are no such metals in these regions, and they do not know how to work them. From their relations with other tribes of Colombia (62)

62. Pe. José Monteiro de Noronha, in his "Roteiro" /Logbook/, states that the Taryana obtained such sheets from the Colombian Panẽnõá Indians (see above, p. 47). -- Manoel da Gama Lobo D'Almada, who, by order of the Governador of the Rio Negro, João Pereira Caldas, explored the passages from the Uaupés to the Japurá, in his report of September 13, 1785, manifests his opinion to the same Governador as follows (cf. Artur Cesar Ferreira Reis -- Lobo D'Almada, 1st ed., Manaos, 1940, p. 82): "In relation to the little Plates of gold which are said to have been worn as earrings by certain Indians of the Uaupés River;

/310 cont./

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/footnote 62 cont./ it is something about which I could not discover the least news, although I did question many and different Nations with whom I talked, inhabitants of the same River. It could well be that those alleged little Plates of Gold were nothing more than a chimeric illusion originating from there being seen in the ears of the said Indians the Wings of certain large, copper-colored Beetles, the Wings of which, after having dried, appear to be a metallic kind because of their thickness and shine.

[135]

"Finally I think that this News of such little Plates of Gold of the Uaupés River is as Fabulous as certainly is the one that affirms, in the Synopsis of Padre Jozé Monteiro, that Certain Stones, taken or /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ brought from the Tiquié River in 1749, when melted, appeared to be of silver; when one is indeed made to believe that they are nothing but those Metallic Stones called Pyrites, of which I have sent Your Excellency some gathered in the Apaporis, and which are also found at the Tiquié River, which appear to be silver to most of the persons of my entourage, who were already planning to present them as such."

and Venezuela they might have been /311/ obtained in barter. At the present time one only finds some women with triangular sheets of beaten silver, of varied size, strung on a cord, and used as a necklace around the neck. They are called, due to their appearance, mo'mõ-rõ khwĺri, that is, pieces of butterfly.

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/311 cont./

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1) Feminine adornment.

Besides the paintings on the face, breasts, and body as decoration (and not as clothing), as they declare, the women own few objects of adornment:

a) Necklaces. They are of different size, shape, and material. They are made from various seeds, especially a tiny nut, threaded on a tucum fiber, the parakẽ-dá; or also little glass beads, the yax'kẽ-dá; or beads obtained from the civilized, the different shapes, sizes, and colors being combined in various ways. They wear them even outside the dances; they are not, however, of general use, and in Wallace's time they were not used at all (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro, p. 630).

[178]

b) Bracelets. They are of beads or seeds, like the necklaces, and are called in Tukano, yax'kẽ wã-yãsé.

c) Knee bands (63).

63. Among the Ide-masã of the stream Komé-ya, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, we also saw young men using knee bands. Among the rest of the tribes the men only wear them as ornaments for the dances.

[286] In Nheengatú they are called tapacúra, and in Tukano yuxtá-seri. It is a band of delicate and curious weave, made of caroá fiber, most of the time, colored yellow or red. One is applied on each leg, a little below the knee. In many cases it is woven without any pieces added, and, thus, when, due to the person's growth, it starts to be too tight, they cut it off.

They assert that its purpose is to thicken the legs.

[177] d) Earrings. Nowadays one only sees earrings (in Nheengatú nambí-purá, in Tukano yoxsasé) obtained from the civilized, or, in place of them, small necklaces of glass beads.

/312/

*192 562 178 291 e) Puericueio. It is the feminine tanga /a covering hanging from the waist/ that we discussed before (VI -- 3, a), in Tukano yax'kẽ waxsó-ro. Nowadays they only use it in the dances and very rarely (65) /sic; 64/.

> 64. "In their festivals, when they dance, the women then put on a small tanga or apron, made of beads arranged in regular patterns, with much taste and much caprice. This tanga is about six square inches in size. It is never worn on other occasions, so that, once the feast is over, the women take it off immediately" (Wallace -- "Viagens," etc., p. 630).

*192 • 301 562 f) Wreath. At times during the dances the women fit to their heads a wreath of branches from that shrub of pleasant and intense aroma called barâ. It is what is called barâ pu'sasé in Tukano.

[177] g) Many women and girls habitually wear curved combs of striking colors, i'ʃ be'tó or i'ʃ-ro be'tó, obtained from the civilized. A century ago, according to Wallace, they did not wear any comb.

2) Masculine adornment.

[302] For the dances the men paint the face and the body, as was said above.

[178] a) Stone of command. We call it this because it is actually a badge of the tuxauas, who wear it hanging at the neck on solemn occasions (dances, reception for some civilized, etc.). Nowadays it is a rare ornament, and few own it. The ouvidor /auditor/ Xavier Sampaio (cf. above, II -- 3), following Pe. José Noronha, mentions the existence of this ornament and gives it as an indicator and classifier, by its size, of the nobleness of the wearer. In Tukano it is called õxtĩ bohá, that is, clear stone. It is a piece of amorphous quartz, quite smooth, cylindrical in shape, and about 15 centimeters in length and 2 to 3 in diameter.

/312 cont./

• 301 562 The quartz is not found on the banks of the Uaupés. Koch Grünberg states that these stones come from a place in the interior of the forest on the left bank of the Tiquié, near the headwaters. They are pierced by a regular orifice of some millimeters in diameter, in the transversal direction (and in some stones also in the longitudinal direction), through which it is hung at the neck. This orifice constitutes one of the best documentations of the native patience in his work, since it is done with the help of fine sand and water, using a thin stick, which is rolled between the palms of the hands while the feet hold the stone on the ground.

* 192 237 301 562 /313/ b) Acangatara. In Tukano it is designated by various names: mahã poá-ri baxsarí-be'tó, or mahã poá-ri pe'saró, or simply mahã poá-ri (arara feathers). It is a wide wreath of about 10 or 15 centimeters, which is fitted by being tied behind the head. It is woven out of tucum, to which the feathers are attached by using the milk of the sorva. They customarily arrange the feathers in such a way that on the lower edge (the one that covers the forehead) there is a band of 3 to 4 centimeters of delicate white garça /heron/ feathers, yehé poá-ri; then a band, more or less of the same width, of red feathers of the harpy eagle, a:--paxkõ wĩxtõ, and an upper band, wider, of yellow arara feathers, mahã poá-ri.

The young men wear their wi'mãrã pe'saró. It consists of a crown, or, rather, of a visor of straw, 2 or 3 centimeters in width, to which is applied a twist densely embellished with striking red and yellow arara plumes. Sometimes, instead of the arara feathers, there are the red ones from the toucan; it is then called daxsé be'tó.

c) Braids. 1st) Emõ poá boxka-rí consists of three double braids about 40 centimeters long, made of monkey fur, and tied at the nape of the neck to let them hang down the back. Emõ is the Tukano name of the guariba /howler/ monkey.

/313 cont./

*192 237 • 301 562 [535]

2nd) At the time of the dance they fit to the preceding braids, and in the horizontal direction, over the nape, another plaiting of onça /jaguar/ fur, which is called poa-ri dõ'terí-dá (dõ'terí-dá means: string for tying).

3rd) They add to the preceding a small onça /jaguar/ bone, yai o'ã dõxká, and a small disk of tatu /armadillo/ shell, pamõ pe'toró, with a feather in the central hole. This decoration is called tu-si'ti-óoro.

d) Feather crests. 1st. -- Over these braids are also fitted various crests. The first consists of a rectangular plaiting of arumã and tucum, ukú-pãma, topped by long and tapered tail feathers from the garça /heron/, yehé si-á uhaú, and, on the base, red arara feathers and white ones from the harpy eagle (si-á uhaú, uropygium).
/The following paragraph is confused in the original source. The three lines from the original text, the first of which is repeated at the end of the following paragraph, are marked with slant lines in the translation./ This crest, like the preceding one, stays vertically over the nape of the neck. / some of these crests that, instead of tucum, they introduced into the woven/ colored threads obtained from the civilized, and monkey fur.

The rest of the men wear a simpler crest, in which, over the ukú-pãma, are found plumes of the harpy eagle, a:--paxkõ si-á uhaú. This crest, like the preceding one, stays vertically over the nape of the neck.

2nd. -- The second crest is called a:--paxkõ wĩxtõ-põ. It consists of a stem around which is fixed with sorva a /314/ layer of very fine white down (wĩxtõ) from the harpy eagle (a:--paxkõ). It is adjusted perpendicularly over the nape, forming a right angle with the first one.

3rd. -- They further add one or two long red tail feathers from the arara, mahã pixkõ-rõ, likewise in a position perpendicular to the nape.

/314 cont./

*192 291 535 e) Cap. The cap, wa'wá, consists of woven work of arumã straw, exactly like a cap, which is worn over the head in a certain dance called precisely wa'wá-ri baxsá, dance of the caps. The back part is rounded, fitting the head well, and the front is flat, like the visor of our caps.

*192 302 f) Comb. We know that formerly they manufactured a comb, similar to our fine-toothed comb, called waxtá íí-ro, because as teeth they used fragments of paxiúba, waxtá. Today, however, they are very rarely used.

*192 • 301 [237] g) Cangatá. It is a cord with very fine and variegated toucan plumes, and it is called in Tukano daxsé si-á uhaú-dá. It remains hanging from the nape, along the back.

h) Necklaces. 1st. -- The one that they wear at the neck is long, made out of flat black seeds of inajá, and is called ixkí-phe patá-dá. Or also of flat beads obtained from the civilized; this is the yaxkẽ-patá-dá. [197]

[237] 2nd. -- Below the waist, falling over the buttocks, they often wear necklaces of onça /jaguar/ teeth, yai-pirí-dá, or of snake vertebrae, pirõ o'ãrí-dá.

[534] 3rd. -- On the right ankle they tie a necklace, generally of small tucumã nuts, bextá, or of seeds; it is the kixtyó, or rattle, which we have already mentioned, for the purpose of marking the rhythm of the steps.

*192 291 i) Loincloth. The loincloth, waxsó-ro, or tanga /covering hanging from the waist/, which they wear as a dance ornament, is a sheet of the liber of the tururí, 20 to 30 centimeters in width and about 40 centimeters in length, with red-clay paintings. It is worn hanging from the waist to the thigh. (Cf. what was said above concerning clothing, VI - 3, a.)

/314 cont./

*192 •301 j) Earrings. The men also wear in the ears long earrings, possibly of gilded metal, axpõã-phĩ (65).

[171] 65. The Makú tuxáua of Iauareté had as earrings a gun cartridge burnished and sawed lengthwise into two halves, one in each ear.

[237] When they do not /315/ have them, they put on by way of earrings a bunch of colorful feathers. We have already observed that [177] the young generation, in contact with the civilized, no longer [304] pierces the lobes of the ears and for this reason no longer will wear earrings in the dances.

[237] k) Bracer. The bracer, baxsá karõ-ga, is a large ring of monkey fur, from which hang as little flocks cords of the same fur, with beautiful arara feathers. It is fitted to the left arm, at the height of the elbow.

*192 554 l) Adze. It is the primitive adze, syó-a yaxpú, for work in wood (see VI - 2, b) and today used only as a dance ornament. It consists of a branch curved like a hook, yaxpú, about 30 centimeters in height, quite smooth, and with plumes attached by means of sorva milk. At one of the ends it bears, fastened in, a solid stone (which today is mere decoration, also a piece of very hard wood) in the shape of an ax, but narrower. This instrument is used by the most important individuals (tuxaua, komĩ, bayá) and goes on the left shoulder.

*192 534 535 237 m) Decorations of the flutes. In certain dance numbers they carry in the right hand a bone flute, membĩ (see above, Musical Instruments), or even a small bone from the onça /jaguar/ or another animal, variously decorated with one of the following ornaments:

1st. -- Mahã-iti. It consists of 8 or 10 red tail feathers from the arara, tied to a twist. This twist is wrapped around one end of the flute or bone, like a crest or fan.

4: Silva--472 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

* 192 /Illustrations facing p. 320 in the original source/

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Festival of the offering of the cunuri (waxpõ poosé)

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Rite of the cigar and legendary commemorations

/321 cont./

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/footnote 6 cont./ wine that they drink, the sun being what they worship and have as their god.

"This whole edifice was a thing worth seeing, the captain and all of us admiring such a remarkable thing. The Captain asked an Indian what it was and what that plaza meant, and the Indian answered that /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ they were subjects and tributaries of the Amazonas /Amazons/ and that they provided them only with feathers of parrots and guacamaios (araras) in order to cover the ceilings of their adoratories. That the povoações they had were in that style, keeping it there as a remembrance and they worshiped it as an emblem of their mistress, who is the one who governs the entire land of the said women. There was also found in this plaza a very small house, inside of which there were many vestments of plumes of different colors, which the Indians wore to celebrate their feasts and to dance, whenever they wanted to rejoice in front of the plank already referred to, and there they offered their sacrifices for their wicked purposes.

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"We soon left this aldeia, then finding another, very large, which had the same plank and division."

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This among the tribes of the mouth of the river Nepo. And about the region of the Amazonas he tells us of "Adoratories and houses dedicated to the sun, which they call caranaí, and that these houses are floored on the ground and up higher, and that the ceilings are covered with paintings of different colors, that in these houses they have

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/Illustrations facing p. 336 in the original source/

Waxsó-ro -- dance apron of the women (made of white and blue beads)

Waxtá i'i-ro -- comb made of paxiúba fragments

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Mandú, Wanana Tuxáua from Caruru-Cachoeira (river Uaupés), adorned for the dances (acangatara, necklaces, and stone of the husband /marido, "husband," should be mando, "command"/)

Rhythm tubes (ahũ-pawõ)

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/339 cont./

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/footnote 46 cont./ heal large wounds/. We were never able to attend such feasts on the occasion of epidemics, but we did not even hear it mentioned that they had held them.

5th. -- The sexual liberties themselves, as we shall explain below (VII - 5, c (1)), also constitute proof of the religious character of the feasts.

• [301] 6th. -- The meaning that they attribute to the ornamentation. The tuxaua Mandú of Iauareté explained to us that the feathers of the garça /heron/ were put on the nape of the neck because it was there that God (?) struck it with the sarabatana /blowgun/. The feathers of the tucano /toucan/ on the back, because God struck it on the back. While the armband of monkey skin was near the left elbow, this being the place where it was hit by the sarabatana of God.

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[115]
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7th. -- A further argument would be, perhaps, the compulsory and consistent arrangement of the dancers inside the maloca. The same Tuxáua-bayá Júlio constructed, on commission, for the Museu Salesiano de Etnografia of Manaus, in December of 1953, a miniature maloca, placing the various objects (seats, vessels,and musical instruments) in their respective places, according to the scheme below /see p. 511/.

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The following is the nomenclature furnished by the same tuxáua:

a) seat of the old ones, bũxkõrá duhurĩ-ko-mũ-rõ
b) little seat of the bayá kõ-mũ-rõ
c) little seat of the helper of the bayá, bayári we-tamõgõ kõ-mũ-rõ
d, e, f, g) seats of the occupants of the maloca, wi'ĩ-khãra duhurĩ kõ-mũrõ
d', e', f', g') seats of the guests, samãrĩ maxsã duhurĩ kõ-mũrõ.

The first columns are called sahãrĩ kãrĩ: boxtá-ri, because the guests (sãhãrĩ), when they sleep (kãrĩ:) in the maloca, hang their hammocks near these first columns (boxta-ri). For this same reason the beam that rests on the first two columns is called sãhãrĩ kãrĩ:-tẽrõ (tẽrõ, on the Uaupés tẽnõ, means beam).

/344 cont./
796 vice versa (50).

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50. We had the opportunity to observe and "to film" the women painting the men. They used for this job, not only their own finger, but also fragments of arumá by way of a brush; sometimes three little sticks of arumá tied together in such a way that from each movement a quite regular triple line resulted. Koch Grünberg himself (Zwei Iahre, 217) let himself be painted on the chest and arms by an Indian woman.

They did not explain to us, nor could we verify, whether they must obey a rule or if they are free to choose the person whom they are to paint. "Yõo wa'rénõkõ, the one painted by me," this is how the man is designated by the woman who painted him; and "yõó wa'réko, the one who painted me," is the expression with which the man calls her.

*[192]

The ornaments are distributed according to the social importance of the individuals, alternately, one for one of the guests, another for a man of the maloca. If there are not enough of them for everyone, and the maloca also has its decorations, one borrows them in order to be complete. It might happen that some will have to remain with more simple decorations and perhaps even only with paintings, because of the lack of ornaments.

• [301]
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*[192]

When everyone is ready (and this is always done with great slowness), they sit down on the small seats, and the guests play the flute of onça /jaguar/ bone (Yaí o'a). Some minutes later their tuxáua makes a speech: -- "We have come to entertain those of the maloca with our dance, and we shall dance as long as the caxiri lasts." He then sounds his kistió /sic/ (ankle snappers, cf. VII-3, c (3a)); it is a sign that the dances

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Indian playing the mĩrĩ (jurupari)

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Always playing the mĩrĩã́, the men surround the maloca where the women and children are shut in. All of them leave by the back door, while the men enter the maloca by the main door. Now the men shut themselves inside and for about half an hour play the mĩrĩã́. Other instruments are not played in these circumstances. Afterwards the mysterious instruments are hidden in another hut, or in the forest, from where, at intervals, some men play them during the dances.

/363 cont./

754 2nd. -- He can also, knowing that a person must pass by way of a trail, close the passage to him, putting across it a stick *[192] over which he has "blown"; it is what is called kã̄ pe-vyó-kõ̃.

3rd. -- Nẽ'kã̄-yusé is said when he has "blown" over a fruit or a plant; if any person (74)

74. These local malefices can harm, by mistake, even the one who prepared them. Patrícia Vasconcelos told us that her uncle Marcos had cast a malefice on a cacuri /fish trap/ (see VI-5, a (2b)) against anyone who went there to steal fish. In the morning he forgot to neutralize the malefice, took some fish, and ate them. Soon he began to feel ill: dizziness, darkening vision, stomach-ache. He then called his own son and said to him: --"My son, I am going to die! I 'blew' on the cacurí, and by accident I ate some of the fish without removing the dohasé." Fortunately he escaped, having recourse to other magic practices.

eats some of this fruit, or even touches this object, he "will become crooked." They believe that all cases of stupor, with paralysis of the facial muscles and contortion of the mouth, are due to the malefices of some enemy.

The Tukano of Parí-cachoeira prepare their jequí /fish trap/ (see VI - 5, a (2a)) on a certain rock of the cachoeira; if they did it at home, they would not be able to catch any fish.

789 /364/ b) Things. -- Stradelli, in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-português (entry Uirá-purú), speaks of the belief in the protective quality of certain charms. It is probable that he is not referring to the tribes of the Uaupés. Among them we not only did not find them, but they could not tell us whether the ancients had used them. In very rare cases we found necklaces of triangular • [301] sheets (see -- 3, d (1)), with the character, it seems, solely of feminine adornment.

/396 cont./

192 7. Song-dance with the bwá (flute or small fife)
533 Mã-ã-ã. Eyarí mamã eyarí mámã kapinã
539 Perikũ yavĺ-i-i davyá (Yaví = long, slim?)
Davyá yavi
Davi kawá-á nomã yavi-nõ
Davi kawá yaú; davi kawá yaú.
Kapiná perikúli
Davyá yavi yú
Kawá-yavyá mã-ã-ã (he blows the flute at length)

[115] 8. Song-dance with the yaxsã or small maracá
[574] (For example, said Júlio, "Tuyuka invites Tukano for the feast. The Tuyuka sing in the maloca, when they are finished singing, the Tukano, from outside, sing" the following:)
Yẽ-ẽ dyá yakẽ marí
Kemẽ maryé-é
Kemẽ maryé-é kenaní
Wekã-ni kená amỹá
Weká kená maryé pyá
Kenã yá marỹé
Wekã-ne ma-yá axpekã ané
Wekã-re kenaní wekã-re
Kená tše! tšá!
(They repeat alternately, now the Tuyuka sing, now the Tukano.)

4) The dances.

535 a) Preparation. We shall describe one of the dances for simple
[115] amusement, performed, however, with great solemnity, and how the most important personage of the group, the tuxaua /397/ Mandú from Iauareté, and the humblest of the extras, a young man of 18 to 20 years old, Marcelino by name, appeared.

535 Mandú (131)
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131. The tuxáua, who had received us dressed in pants, although without a shirt, in order to prepare for the dances, took off the pants and continued with his Waxsó-ro of cloth; he did not put on, as on other occasions, the large Waxsó-ro of hanging inner-bark.

/397 cont./

535 wore on his head a wide acangatara /head ornament/ with arara
237 feathers; a wig with braids of monkey skin and with two long, red
• 301 arara feathers and an onça /jaguar/ bone. From the wig, leaning toward each ear, there was a long, white heron feather. Hanging over the back the cangatá, a cord with tucano /toucan/ feathers. Also on the wig, close to the nape, the crest, or rectangular woven piece with long heron feathers. On the neck three long necklaces of beads and a necklace of seeds with the stone of command. From the ears, earrings made out of a burnished half of a gun cartridge.
[302] As painting on the forehead, a red semicircle turned upward and a large cross from the neck to the waist (132),

[123]

> 132. At a dance that we attended in the maloca of the Tuyuka in the igarapé of the Onça /jaguar/, upper Tiquié, from the painting of the Kõmũ resulted a cross on the face with a broad stroke from the forehead along the nose and upper lip, and the arms of the cross curved upward almost in a semicircle.

also in the color red. On the left elbow, a bracer of monkey skin. In the form of a belt, over the buttocks, a necklace of teeth, to which he later attached two branches of that magic and intensely
*[192] aromatic shrub called bará. In the course of the dance he fitted to the right ankle a necklace of seeds (Kixtyõ).

Marcelino wore a small, denticulated wreath of fine straw, with yellow down from the arara; at the nape the crest with white plumes and a long feather surrounded by a string of colorful plumes. On the left elbow the armband of monkey skin. Hanging at the back, braids of monkey skin decorated with arara down.

*192 b) Execution. A small rehearsal took place in order to verify
534 whether the japurutús /long flutes/ were in tune with each other, as well as the cariços /Panpipes/. A little caxiri was drunk.

The tuxaua executed the yaí-gõ paasé, that is, he made the
534 rhythm stick, called "stick-of-the-onça /jaguar/," decorated with
535 feathers, vibrate several times on the right muscle of the arm. He
*[192] took some steps in rhythm with the pestle-tube of imbauba, and he

/472 cont./

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/footnote 108 cont./ in his "Diario" /Diary/ of 1774 (n. 381) says: "The most famous one (of the nations of the Uaupés River) is the Uaupés because of the difference of various degrees of nobility that they admit among them; what serves as the distinction, like a military order, is a very smooth, white stone, cylindrical in shape and pierced in order to pass through it a cord, with which they wear it hanging at the neck. Those of the principals reach up to half a span in length. Those of the nobles are smaller, and those of the common people much smaller. The Uaupés also wear the ears and lower lips pierced."

[304]

the principal consequence of which at present seems to be precedence, whether in the dances, whether in the preference for the tuxauaship, in the case of the coexistence of various subdivisions in the same maloca or povoado. On the basis of such a custom, one can arrange a classificatory chart, which, for the Tukano tribe, for example, would be made up as was seen in IV - 2-a(2), according to the enumeration given in December of 1953 by the octogenarian Tukano of Parí-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa (belonging to the eleventh division of the Ba'ti-tõrõ), an order which, besides, corresponds to information that we obtained from other sources and in different places (109).

[115]

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109. When one talks about the last subdivisions with individuals from the first ones, one frequently hears this expression: "They are our slaves." Would they perhaps be groups of different origin which were dominated and absorbed? In some cases this seems to us admissible. For example, the Juruá display quite noticeable somatic differences from the other Tukano. According to the legends they would not have come out of Tõmpa-duri, but

/474 cont./

614 If by Phratry we understand any subdivision of the tribe (even if it does not constitute a true community, because it does not have a chief), these Subtribes or Kurá could be called Phratries (or Sibs, as some modern ethnologists prefer). They correspond to the Phratries of ancient Greece, while, like those, they are also exogamous and of paternal descent. It is to be noted, however, that marriage between one phratry and another of the same tribe is not permitted.

/475/ The Phratry or Kurá, which at first is identified with the maloca, with the passing of time unfolds into several local groups. In these, however, there is no trace that this might be a matter of a totemic clan; they are only territorial family groups or agnatic kinship groups, which we could call, using the Latin term, Gens.

f) Totemism?

There are different indications that make one think of the operation of totemism with its totemic clans and customs.

1st. -- The groups (tribes and subtribes) bear names of animals (Tucano /toucan/, arapaço /Dendro colaptidae/ or pica-pau /woodpecker/, juritĩ /dove/, jibóia, etc.) or of plants (miriti, cunuri /Cunuria/, etc.), as is the custom of totemic clans.

[237] [301] [535] 2nd. -- There appear in the dance ornaments feathers of the garça /heron/, arara, tucano /toucan/, gavião /hawk/; fur of the macaco and onça /jaguar/, teeth of the onça or of other animals; snake vertebrae, etc. These ornaments recall to memory the place in which the animal was wounded, as if it were an exaltation of the animal sacrificed and an identification between the individual and the animal formerly sacrificed by God or (?) to God.

[535] [532] 3rd. -- In the dances there are personages and masks (where they wear them, that is, among the Kubewãna of the Uaupés and the Arwake of the Içana), which represent the borboleta /butterfly/, the cotia /agouti/, etc., and these personages try to imitate the movements of these animals and there are also corresponding chirps or songs.

[825] 4th. -- The tucano /toucan/, due to the disproportionate weight and volume of its beak, does not have great autonomy of

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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be interesting and he recorded tribal distributions and physical conditions of life as well as many customs. It is to Wallace that we owe the first report on mortuary endocannibalism among the Cubeo. Curiously, this information has never been properly authenticated. Wallace learned about it at second hand, as did Koch-Grünberg many years later. I observed what I thought to be this custom, but I could not verify that the bones being prepared for imbibing with chicha were human. The annoyance of the Indians when I accidentally came upon them while they were reducing bones to meal and pouring it into the chicha at the conclusion of a mourning ceremony led me to suspect that the bones were human. In response to my questions, however, no Cubeo would confirm my conjectures.

Wallace (1870, p. 354) traveled up the Vaupés to the mouth of the Cuduiarí River at the rapids of Uaracapurí, where he observed a community of several malocas. He did not enter the Cuduiarí, reporting only that to his knowledge no European had ever gone up that river. As for the Vaupés, this river, particularly in its Brazilian reaches, had in Wallace's time already become an important artery of European trade. Along the Isana River Wallace noted that the Indians were living in European-style dwellings. The Cuduiarí then had the reputation of a totally wild region. The Cubeo Indians seen by Wallace were still wearing large circular wooden plugs in their ears. By 1903, in the time of Koch-Grünberg, this form of male ornamentation had already been given up.

Curt Nimuendajú surveyed the Isana, Aiarí, and Vaupés rivers in 1927. In his notes, published posthumously in 1950, it is revealed that he correctly identified Tucano and Cubeo descent groups as patrilineal clans. He did not, however, enter the Cuduiarí, and his information on that river, being secondhand, is not too reliable.

My own field work on the Cuduiarí began in September 1939 and continued through June 1940. (Goldman, 1948, is a preliminary report.) The Cuduiarí had the advantage of being relatively accessible and as yet almost completely unacculturated. I decided upon the Cuduiarí after a survey of the Cubeo communities along the Vaupés.

CULTURE CHANGE

Cubeo culture has been subjected to acculturative influences from two sources, one from other Indian tribes and the other from European, Colombian, and Brazilian missionaries, settlers, traders, and latex extractors. Cultural interchange among Indian tribes in the Northwest Amazon region is, of course, an old and intricate process,

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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615 614 the *Bahúkiwa* that intermarriage is possible. The *Bahúkiwa*, for their part, deny this. I could obtain, however, no record of a marriage between the *Bahúkiwa* and *Hehénewa*. I am inclined to attribute such discrepancies to considerations of prestige. The high-ranking *Hehénewa* emphasize distance, the low-ranking *Bahúkiwa*, closeness, between their respective sibs.

615 614 554 The Cubeo phratry is particularly interesting because of its hierarchical organization. Ranked sibs suggest a hierarchical social structure and hence a political organization of some complexity. Neither, as we have already observed, is actually present among the Cubeo. [301] Insofar as I could determine, the leading sibs of a phratry had no actual jurisdiction over any of the lower-ranking sibs, nor was there any formal way in which the rank order of sibs was expressed other than by listing, and by some prestige privileges that allowed only the high-ranking sibs, up to and including the *Hehénewa*, to wear the quartz cylinder pendant on their breasts. Among the low-ranking *Bahúkiwa* no one possessed the jaguar-tooth or the armadillo-vertebrae girdles either.

The hierarchy of sibs is consistent with a kinship stress upon seniority of birth that distinguishes older and younger siblings, but it seems at variance with a very strong feeling for equality, with the absence of deferential behavior, and with other marked symbols of social status. There are, nevertheless, intimations of rivalries within [177] the phratry among sib headmen, in which one accuses the others of seeking power over the phratry. White influence may be responsible for this, since the authorities hope to be able to deal with a single chief rather than with each small sib. Even so, it may well be that [721] the groundwork for phratric leadership has been laid down by the hierarchical organization. We do have a tradition that the *Hehénewa* once made an unsuccessful military effort to establish political authority over the entire Cuduiarí.

614 [613] The character of the Cubeo sib is such that it is a moot point whether we are dealing with a true patrilineal sib or with a patrilineage. From the Cubeo point of view, the descent group has lineage features. It is small, it is generally localized, its members have the strongest feelings of kinship identification, and they claim not merely descent from a common ancestor but they produce genealogies to establish such a connection. At some time during the year, an old [867] man gathers all the young males, from the age of six on, together in the evening and each night for a month teaches them the sib genealogy. The genealogies, however, begin from the past and never actually connect with the present. The interest of the Cubeo in present

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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or tone of voice that he is being flattering or is jesting. In the solemn terms of address that people use on ceremonial occasions, relationships, however, are used correctly.

The stress being on patriliny and on patrilocality, brothers are permanently held together by common residence in the respective degrees of closeness extending outward from hearth, house, community, adjacent community, and the common river as the usual territory of the phratry. Depending upon the degree of physical closeness, brothers share joint economic and ceremonial activities. In any case they share common traditions and the highly significant bond of common exogamy. The Cubeo offer hospitality to any kinsman whether consanguineal or affinal. However, when men are traveling along their own river they are made more comfortable by the thought that they will be stopping over at the house of a "brother." Kinsmen, in contrast to in-laws, are *hiwá*, an apt term that means literally "my group." (*Hi* is the possessive pronoun, *wa* is the suffix indicating the animate collective.)

Brothers of the same mother are, contrary to the traditions of pat-

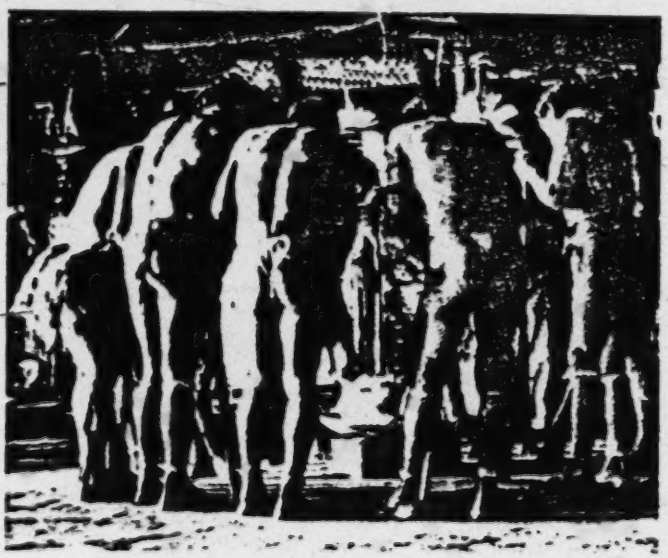

Fig. 5. Sib group at mourning ceremony.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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593 to his father for personal attention. On the whole, a child is at a greater disadvantage if it has lost a parent of its own sex, that is, a girl with a stepmother, a boy with a stepfather. A girl with a stepmother has a hard life of chores and of open neglect. A boy with a stepfather does not have a hard life at all in the material sense. He is deprived more subtly of intimacy with a paternal figure, and this usually shows itself in his own reserve with respect to his fellows. If he has no father at all the effect upon his personality is even more marked.

593 736 [597] My direct acquaintance with the situation of a true orphan is limited to the observation of one case among the *Bahükiwa*. This was a girl from another tribe who had lost both parents and was adopted by the *Bahükiwa* headman as his "daughter." The little girl, about nine, was addressed as "daughter" but held the status in the household of a servant. She took on the heaviest chores and was almost never free to play. Her lowly status was truly stigmatized by [301] her lack of possessions. She was the only child among the Cubeo [123] whom I had ever seen unadorned, until I gave her a necklace which she was allowed to keep. The children of the household enjoyed beating her as a way of teasing her, rather than wickedly. She took their pinchings and cuffings good-naturedly, on the whole, and had learned to pretend not to notice. Once, in the presence of the headman, her "father," the children were overdoing their teasing. She looked imploringly at the headman. Finally, she caught his eye and he said to her, "It is all right for you to run away." He saw no need to reprimand his own children.

[114] In reading Giacone (1949) on the Tucano tribe I found my observations on orphans corroborated. He, too, reported that orphans do not lack food but that they appear to be melancholy.

CEREMONIAL FRIENDSHIP

572 193 A parallel to the brother-sister relationship is the *hikü-hiko* relationship, a ceremonial friendship. These terms, formed by combining the possessive prefix with the gender suffix, connote a relationship of exceptional closeness. The linguistic significance of possessive prefix and gender suffix for kinship terms has already been brought out. The curious feature of *hikü* and *hiko* is that these terms are composed of the two intimate-indicating particles.[8] The ceremonial

[8] *Hi* is also the verb stem "to give," but if *hikü* were translated as "giver"—a feasible rendering—it should be possible to say *hihikü*. But this form does not exist.

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622 571 433 the Cubeo headman is lacking in precisely those attributes that in other parts of the world have traditionally played a prominent part in political evolution.

622 554 The two terms, *habókü* and *kenámi upákü*, meaning, respectively, a man of substance and "owner of the house," illustrate the conceptual range in Cubeo leadership. The *habókü* is the leader, whose presence, enhanced by a muscular physique, commands respect, who has undisputed skill in hunting, in fishing, in crafts, and who commands ceremonial lore. He possesses the full range of ceremonial regalia, feather headdresses, necklaces, and girdles. His equipment is of the best quality and in excellent condition. The *kenámi upákü*, on the other hand, is simply the head of the maloca. The *habókü* is apt to be head of the house, but a house head need not be *habókü*, although as a leader he will possess some *habókü* attributes. Thus not all headmen qualify as *habókü*. Those of higher-ranking sibs, such as the *Órabawa*, *Aúnbwawü*, and *Hehénewa*, usually do, and those of lower-ranking sibs, such as the *Bahükiwa*, usually do not. The existence of a concept of *habókü* is a spur to the ambition of a headman, although the status is honorific only. The *habókü* commands respect everywhere in the tribe, but his authority, such as it is, is limited to his own sib. Sibmen share in the prestige of having a *habókü* as headman. Not every *habókü* is the head of his sib, for in some sibs several men hold the title and their senior is then the headman. In time of war the *habókü* is the natural war leader. Even when not headman his leadership is drawn upon in hunting and in all collective activities.

622 614 554 In the higher-ranking sibs the insignia of *habókü* include, first, a quartz cylinder worn as a pendant, a jaguar-tooth girdle, an armadillo-vertebrae girdle, and, finally, *mápena*, the ceremonial headdress of feathers and monkey hair. The *Bahükiwa*, who are not privileged to wear either the quartz pendant or the girdles, maintain that *mápena* are the principal insignia of *habókü* status among them, although they defer to the higher status of the insignia of their higher-ranking clans. The *Hehénewa* deride this *Bahükiwa* claim and insist that without the pendant and girdles no man can call himself *habókü*. The *Bahükiwa* define *habókü* as an achieved status and the *Hehénewa* as a hereditary status, but only in the sense that it pertains to high-ranking sibs. Within the proper sib any man may acquire the insignia and the status of *habókü*.[1]

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[1] Apropos of social status, Martius (1867, I, 596) reported caste distinctions of chiefs, nobles, and commoners on the Vaupés. He gives no details. One suspects an exaggeration, although the bases for his view are understandable.

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INSIGNIA OF STATUS

Ornamentation is for the Cubeo a requisite for basic status; one might say for human status. The Macú, for example, are sometimes derided as "not human," and it is noted in evidence that they have no ornaments. The very first day a newborn infant is in the house, it is painted with a jaguar design and its mother puts twine cord on its wrists and a seed necklace around its neck. An undecorated child is a rarity, an extraordinarily underprivileged creature. The common denominator of personal ornamentation includes face and body painting with red pigment (*urucú*) and a necklace. The wristlets of children have the magical purpose of fattening the arms, but the necklaces are sheer insignia of status. A popular trade item around Indian tribes is a necklace of silver plates in a triangle shape which all the Indians of the region call "butterflies." Necklaces of various seeds are common for men and women. In the past, ear ornaments and lower-lip labrets were common to both sexes. The Cubeo are proud and sensitive about their personal appearance. They apply pigment with great care, using dye rollers to print a design and pigment applicators that will apply parallel lines. Ornaments are always in good condition and of good quality.

The minimum ornamental requirement for full standing as an adult male is the complex feather headdress, *mápena* (feathers of the red *arara* [macaw]), which actually includes feathers of many different birds mounted on a crown of plaited fiber as well as a rope of monkey hair. These feathers, painstakingly gathered and put together, are handled with very great care, kept in a long fiber box where they are laid away always slowly, ceremonially, and in proper order, to be taken out for a dance. A man who does not own *mápena* borrows from the headman or from another sibmate so that he can take part in certain dances. All men possess some part of the full set of feathers, but only a headman will feel the strong obligation to possess the full set. No one among the *Bahúkiwa* owned a complete *mápena*, but this poverty was not too disturbing to them. The downstream *Hehénewa* were well provided. *Mápena*, however, are not a mark of sib rank.

The *Bahúkiwa* attitude toward *mápena* is ambivalent; their joy in possession is tempered by fear of death because of it. They do not make the headdresses but buy them from other Tucanoan and Arawakan tribes, and they suspect that whoever has sold them the feathers has included a spell that will kill the owner if he should own the full set. One informant explained that the feathers have power

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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292 614 554 [761] One informant explained that the feathers have power that may be too strong for the owner and that is why it is better not to have too much. Some men accumulate outfits of *mápena*. They are certain to die from overdoing, it is said. A host at a drinking party may lay out his *mápena* in a tray at the doorway so that guests may wear them for dancing. It is a point of pride to be able to supply guests in this way. He addresses a guest as follows: "Here it is now, this poor thing that I have. When you put this on you may drink. Our ancestor wore this when he made chicha to drink. He became sick when he did this, when he adorned himself. Other people know how to make this [*mápena*]. He bought it from them."

237 301 614 554 756 [789] The girdles of jaguar teeth and of armadillo vertebrae were also possessed only by the *Hehénewa*. They are worn only during ceremonial dances. These girdles are symbols of shamanistic power although they are not shamanistic insignia. The jaguar is, of course, the full-fledged shaman himself. The armadillo claw forms the handle on the special rattle a shaman uses to bring rain. The quartz cylinder (*kenddox*: stone) may also be a shamanistic symbol since stone crystals are part of the medicine man's equipment. But whatever its symbolic significance, it is for the Cubeo the ornament of major prestige, limited to the high-ranking sibs. The quartz from which this pendant is laboriously made and drilled is found, I was told, only on the Tiquié River and is widely traded in the region. The *Hehénewa* claim that their first ancestors brought the *kenddox* with them and that is why they alone may wear them. Koch-Grünberg found these pendants to be widespread among the Tucano, where even children wore them.[2]

301 554 [756] [439] [614] [184]

HEADMANSHIP

622 613 The headmanship, whether of *habókü* status or *kenámi upákü*, normally stays within a particular lineage, although no lineage has a specific and traditional claim to the office. The office may go from a father to his eldest son or from a man to his next younger brother, depending upon circumstances and upon which of these pushes himself forward most effectively. Koch-Grünberg observed that among

[135] [324]

[2] Martius (1867, I, 599 ff.) observed that the quartz cylinder is a special trait of the Vaupés. He put the source of the stone at the Apaporis and Caquetá rivers and reported that it took two generations to make a pendant. The stone is ground into shape with volcanic ash obtained from the Solimoes River and the hole is bored with a bamboo drill. He saw chiefs on the Vaupés who wore pendants drilled through the long way, an exceptional mark of high status. The size of the pendant, according to Martius, was in proportion to the deeds of the wearer in war and in the hunt.

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Koch-Grünberg has observed this dance among neighboring Tucanoans as well as among Arawakan-speaking tribes. He observed it as a courting dance, boys and girls leaving the house after a dance and disappearing into the surrounding darkness (1909, I, 293, II 272). There is no mistaking the erotic undertones of this dance among the Cubeo. But it cannot ordinarily be a courting dance since the participants are normally sibmates and phratry mates if unmarried. The first girls to join the dancers are, in fact, their sisters. But as the evening wears on, the erotic character of the dance emerges in a dangerous form. An unmarried girl too often chooses to thrust herself beneath the arms of her sister's husband, a married woman "chooses" a husband's brother. What is ordinary courtship in tribes that bring together potential marriage mates at their drinking parties is largely adultery or the threat of adultery among the Cubeo, who entertain within the exogamous circle. I suspect that in the case of the Cubeo, simple courtship dances have become embroiled in a changing social order that has gradually built up a phratric system out of independent exogamous local groups. In the process the dance has lost its innocence.

The dancing has a deceptively decorous appearance. As the girls insert themselves between two male dancers, under the arm of one, the men never pause, turn their heads, or change expression. The girl puts her right arm lightly around her partner's waist. She holds her left hand before her, at her skirt. Crouched beneath the yoke

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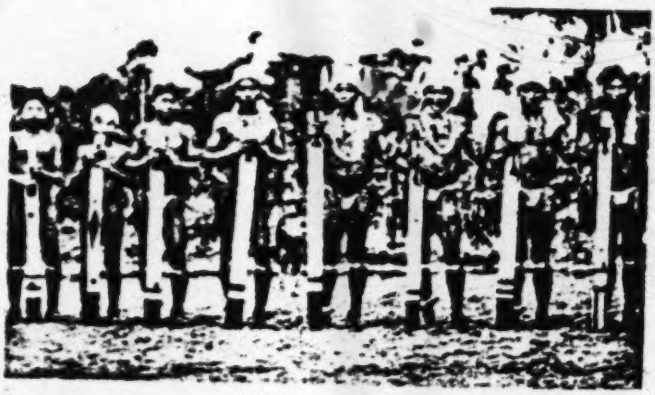

Fig. 10. *Hehénewa* men in full dancing costume.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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used by the Cubeo for that purpose. It is a ceremonial pennant and it accompanies the dead as a walking stick in the afterlife. Dancing staffs are hollowed cylinders that are stamped on the ground to produce a booming sound and are known as the "good sticks." They have a beneficent effect upon a dance, but whether by magic or by association is not clear. The elaborate coronets of feathers (*mápena*) are apparently sacred. They are handled with great care and kept in a special box. While a woman will touch the *mápena* she will not actually handle them. I did not, however, learn the Cubeo theory of their sacredness. Musical instruments may be regarded as quasi-sacred because they invoke birds and insects but are subject to no taboos (except for the ancestral flutes and trumpets). Flageolets embody the butterfly (*tatárako*). They are played by sounding *ta tara ta tara*, the sound, the Cubeo say, of the butterfly. The large eight-reed Panpipe is *kawi* – the vulture whose hovering form the Cubeo visualize as overhanging the mourning ceremony. Woven ligatures (*ñikndwa*) worn by men below the knee and daubed with a salmon-pink pigment have several magical effects.[6] Worn at drinking parties they both hasten intoxication and promote long life. They flesh out the calf – a symbol of growth and for the Cubeo aesthetically pleasing.

The association between intoxication and long life as expressed in the ligature seems more than casual. For the Cubeo, intensity of feeling is the goal of ceremonial life. Excitement is one form of the sacred for the Cubeo; perhaps it is the most important expression of sacredness they know. This is borne out by the prominence of excitants in Cubeo religion. Tobacco, coca, *mihí*, chicha, capsicum peppers, all have sacred value for the Cubeo. The potency attributed to an excited state cannot be said to be magical nor can it be attributed to spirits. They have a bird as the spirit of intoxication but this bird does not cause intoxication – it presides over it. The religious significance of intensification of feeling is not an instrumental one in any narrow sense of the word. One can only state this as an impression, since the Cubeo did not put it into words. Intensification of feeling stands for them simply as an assertion of life. That is why, it seems to me, the Cubeo can assert that the salmon-colored ligature is for long life and for drunkenness both.

[6] Women also used to wear these garters in the days before the petticoat became common.

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

under his battered trilby and the groundsheets, while Brian dived beneath the tarpaulin and spent the night stretched over tins and kitbags.

The New Year came in with more rain. For all the discomfort it brought we could only look upon such deluges as a sign of good fortune; they were early this year, the rivers would now be higher and our descent easier. So we started on our journey downstream. *El Diablo*, lumbering along like a loaded ark, was stopped by every snag and log. She took days to cover the same distance as the slim canoes of the Indians, when they later travelled back up the river in a matter of hours to pick up the fuel drums we had had to leave behind on the portage.

One day canoes appeared gliding towards us, both loaded down with large wicker baskets of *farinha* and paddled by two men in loincloths. Strings of minute white beads were around their necks and black berry bracelets around each arm. An old man, his wizened face eyeing us suspiciously, was sitting in the bows of the first canoe.

This was our first real contact with the Indians of the Piraparaná. Their immediate reaction was not one of fear, but rather, like our own, of enquiry and interest. They said nothing until José hailed them in their own dialect. There ensued a long, almost formal exchange of greetings which we were to hear many times when travelling through their territory. Before they left we asked them to carry a message for Nestor – in case they should meet him, for they were travelling to the Río Ti.

Much depended on our guide José. That he had been with Padre Elorza was not necessarily to our advantage, for in the first place we could not be sure what effect the first contact with Catholicism had had on the Indians of the Piraparaná, nor did we know what instructions José had been given by the padres. We had to depend on him entirely both for our own safety when travelling downstream and for the information we were to get. He was not a very pleasant or easy character. From the outset he had always wanted to have his own way and if this was not granted then he became moody and unco-operative. We could never be certain what he would do next and after his attempt at desertion we could not trust him. However he worked very hard and showed remarkable common sense, and without him we would never have got through the rapids ahead of us.

His experience with white men had not only come from the Mission. Some five years previously a *cauchero* had come to his river home close to the Brazilian frontier. He had taken six boys away with him to work the wild rubber trees and one of them was José. Later he had escaped from the *cauchero*, but during those four years he had learnt how to operate an outboard motor, to handle money and had even been in an aeroplane. He had come under the Mission's wing only recently, and it may have been this combination of experiences that had complicated his character. He no longer possessed the Indian's direct simplicity.

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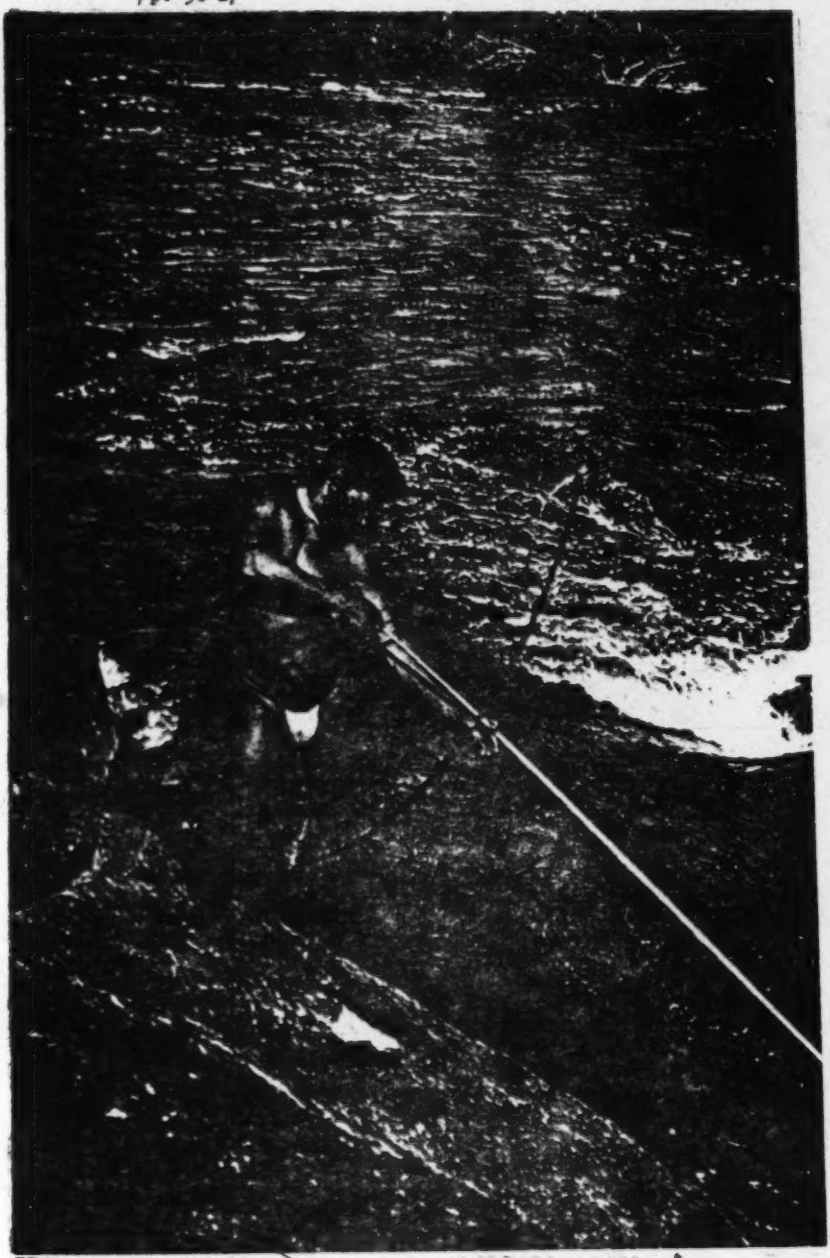

A Tukano shooting fish with a long fish arrow.

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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The Forest Addicts

141 The Tukano are small: a man rarely exceeds five foot six and the women are
164 often no more than four foot ten inches. To see a cripple or deformed person
291 is unusual. They are healthy and immensely strong. A man wears no more
301 than his loincloth, today cut from a piece of trade cotton but formerly a strip of beaten barkcloth. Around his neck are three or four coils of minute white porcelain beads, which are among the most valued objects of exchange; a tight string of black berries is strung on *cumare* palm fibre above each elbow. The ears are often pierced with a short cane jutting out from the lobe; sometimes a feather is put into the cane, or a flower replaces the earplug. With their short, cropped hair and well-proportioned bodies they stand out as strong figures, beautifully adapted to the forests in which they live.

481 Their gait is jerky rather than slow and relaxed, indeed they almost run;
147 whether the Indian is out hunting or carrying heavy loads he always moves in the same way. We could only look on amazed as our fifteen-gallon fuel drums were carried for two- or three-hour stretches with no apparent difficulty. They only showed any signs of wilting in strong sunlight; an Indian would rather travel by night than on an open river in the midday sun; his home is in the cool forest or under the dark eaves of the *maloca*. His face
302 painted red with *karayuru*, a bow and a quiver of curare-tipped arrows in his
411 hand, he has little sympathy for strangers and would rather remain undis-
609 turbed. It is therefore not surprising that the Indian's face tells you little. When he stares at you with his black eyes, it is as though you were peering into
152 the cold unknown, and there is little warmth in his expression. We very seldom noticed any demonstration of affection among the older people. Husband
593 and wife live together rather as a matter of arrangement than through love,
85 and tenderness was only shown to the younger children. The old people,
888 once unfit to go out hunting or to work in the plantation, may be neglected in times of shortage and even left to die. They are no longer of any use to the society, so it is best they go; for theirs is a harsh world where only the fittest can survive.

576 Although the Tukano seem outwardly reserved, lacking in affection and often proud, they are invariably very courteous. Their greetings are formal – just as we shake hands they always exchange a lengthy stream of words. It is

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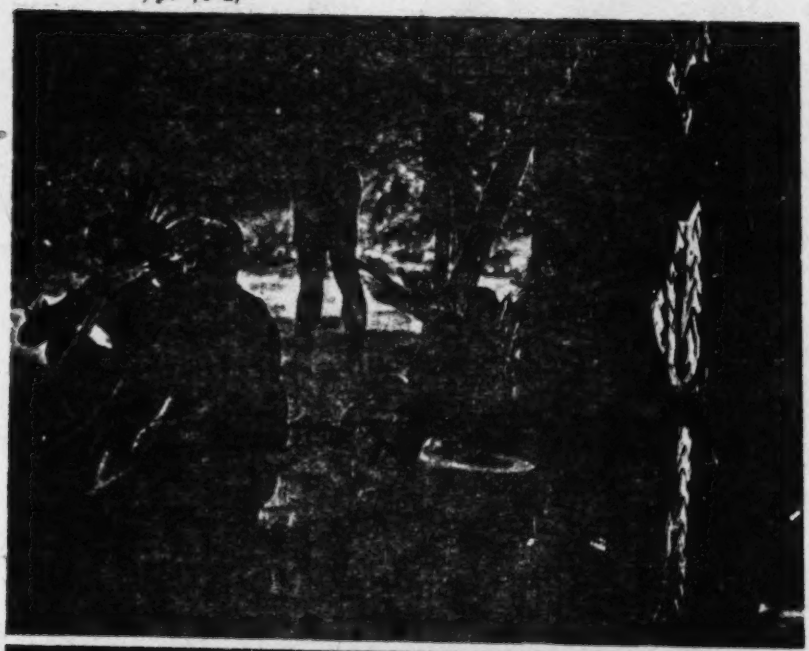

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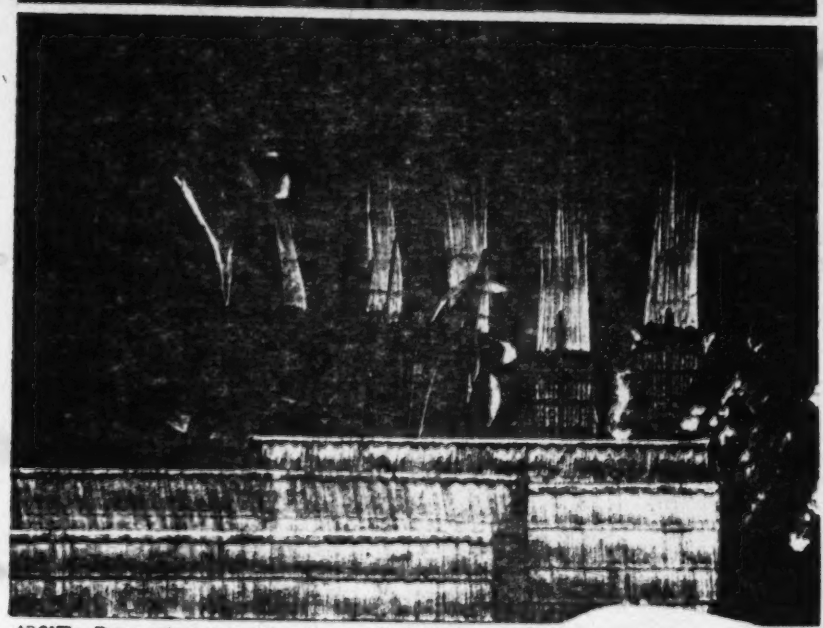

ABOVE: Preparing for the festival. BELOW: Bréo unpacks the festival feather headdresses from their boxes.

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A head-dress made from the feathers of the royal crane.

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Tukano profile and festival head-dress.

61 Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

796 monotone of the shaman. At intervals the coca calabash passed from hand to hand and each man threw a deer-bone spoon of the sage-green powder into his mouth. He stored it in his cheek and gradually the coca, mixed with saliva, filtered down his throat. Louder and louder, faster and faster became the chanting, echoing between the walls of the vast dark interior. The shaman worked himself into a frenzy, waving his arms out in front of him, his hands moving in wild gesticulations, his voice a rapid series of falsetto monotones; he was expelling all evil spirits from the tribal precincts to the heads of the *caños* and to other lands. The incantations continued for nearly two hours and then in the early hours of the morning there was silence.

796 301 The time had arrived for Bréo to unlock the precious box of plumages and he lowered it to the floor. He unwrapped the barkcloth cover and took off the lid of the beautifully woven palm box. Item by item he distributed the contents to the waiting figures, eagerly clambering to adorn themselves. First the smaller boys were given their simple crowns of red and yellow macaw and toucan tail-feathers, and they dashed away to adjust these on their heads. Underneath lay monkey-fur belts, ancient quartz pendants, puma-tooth necklaces and the most important items of all, magnificent feather head-dresses. These Bréo carefully selected and gave to the elders of the tribe. Crowns of toucan feathers woven on *cumare* frames adorned their heads, brilliant gold and red, ringed with white duck-down. Majestic royal crane plumage, stuck into a banana stem which projected down the back, jutted vertically up from the back of the head. The white feathers were woven together in a *cumaré* mesh and stood out like quivering spindles of spun glass, gleaming in the darkness. Behind was a single red macaw tail-feather, a deer bone bound to the banana stem with monkey fur and last of all the wing plumage of an egret.

301 Many of the men wore giant quartz obelisks dangling from their necks. They make them no more, but their ancestors used to spend days rubbing down large chunks of quartz in pébbleworn channels in the river beds. Others had necklaces of wild boars' tusks, pointing concentrically outwards. There were many monkey-fur armlets with glistening beetle wings which [292] jingled as the men moved. Around the waist was another belt of monkey fur with puma teeth attached; below the knees finely-woven *cumare* garters, rubbed yellow with river clay, and above the right ankle dried *watcha* nut [302] rattles. This, with the fierce red facial paint and black body design, made up the splendid dancing regalia of the Tukano. The women had no adornments; [562] south of the Caquetá they stuck rings of white duck-down to their ankles with mud, but here they only painted their faces and bodies.

796 535 Now the dancing proper began. Since it was the manioc festival only the ceremonial *Nahubasa*, signifying the complete cycle of manioc from the time it was planted to the time it became cassava, was danced. Each man carried a long cane stave in his right hand and they joined in a line across the centre of

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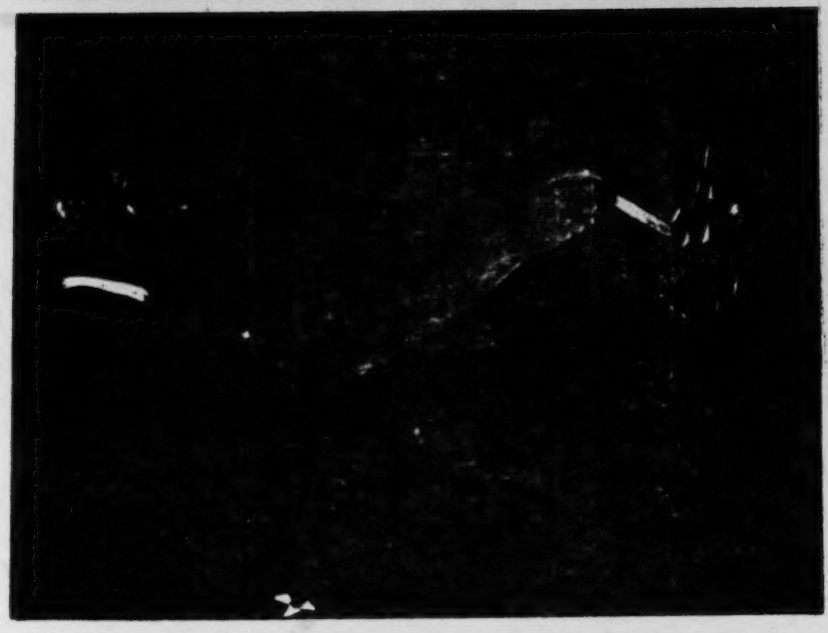

ABOVE LEFT: An Indian taking snuff; round his neck a quartz pendant and a necklace strung with jaguar teeth. ABOVE RIGHT: Boy playing pan-pipes. BELOW: A headman lights a torch of beeswax.